

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0479

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR OMISSIONS)

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

ANKARA FOR DELIVERY OF TEXT ONLY TO NATO DEPT, TURKISH
FOREIGN MINISTRY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: CZECHOSLOVAK AND NETHERLANDS
PRESENTATIONS AT DEC 5 PLENARY SESSION

REF: MBFR VIENNA 0477

THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT PRESENTED BY THE
CZECHOSLOVAK REP (KLEIN) AT THE DECEMBER 5 PLENARY MEETING
OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. IN THE STATEMENT, KLEIN OFFICIALLY
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ADVANCED THE WARSAW PACT FREEZE PROPOSAL IN THE SAME

LANGUAGE AS USED PREVIOUSLY IN INFORMAL SESSION.

BEGIN TEXT.

MR. CHAIRMAN, COMRADES AND GENTLEMEN,

1. WE ARE GRADUALLY APPROACHING THE END OF THE PRESENT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH HAS IN OUR VIEW BEEN A PERIOD OF SEARCH FOR A WAY OUT OF THE DEADLOCK WHICH WAS CREATED AS A RESULT OF THE UNREALISTIC AND ONE-SIDED POSITION OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES. AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS ROUND ALL THE DELEGATIONS DECLARED THEIR READINESS TO ACTIVATE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION OUR DELEGATION INDICATED IN ITS OPENING STATEMENT THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE THESE EFFORTS NOT ONLY IN WORDS BUT IN DEEDS.

2. IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT AND IN THIS DIRECTION THAT THE DELEGATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN ACTING; TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE UNSATISFACTORY SITUATION IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS, THEY HAVE PRODUCED NEW PROPOSALS AIMED AT OVERCOMING THE EXISTING DIFFICULTIES AND AT STIMULATING THE FURTHER COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

MR CHAIRMAN,

3. THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, IN PUTTING FORWARD AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS - ON 8 NOVEMBER LAST YEAR - A CONCRETE AND REALISTIC PLAN FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, WHICH WAS COMPOSED IN FULL CONFORMITY WITH THE AGREED PRINCIPLES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, HAVE STRIVEN AND ARE STRIVING FOR A REDUCTION WHICH WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER THE LEVEL OF THE ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS OF THE MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE OPPOSING GROUPINGS. THE REDUCTION ENVISAGED IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT PRESENTED BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WOULD BE MUTUAL; IT WOULD NOT PERMIT ANYBODY TO OBTAIN UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES AND WOULD NOT DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF ANY PARTY. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE DETAILED AND COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO THE SUBJECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

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CONTAINED IN THIS DRAFT, WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT ALL THE COMPONENTS AND FACTORS DETERMINING THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, IS THE REALISTIC BASE WHICH MUST SERVE AS A FOUNDATION FOR THE SEARCH FOR A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AND JUST SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THIS AREA.

4. THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ON 22 NOVEMBER 1973 PRESENTED

A PLAN OF REDUCTIONS WHICH, IGNORING THE REAL STATE OF AFFAIRS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, DELIBERATELY OMITTS A WHOLE SERIES OF IMPORTANT ELEMENTS AND IS DIRECTED - AS IS OPENLY ADMITTED BY WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES - AT CHANGING THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES THAT HAS COME INTO BEING IN THE AREA OF PROPOSED REDUCTIONS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE NATO COUNTRIES. IN THIS RESPECT IT IS IN CONTRADICTION WITH THE PRINCIPLES AGREED AT THE PREPARATORY TALKS. WE HAVE ALREADY REPEATEDLY SHOWN THAT SUCH A POSITION ON THE PART OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES CANNOT SERVE AS A FOUNDATION FOR WORKING OUT SOLUTIONS WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE ATTEMPT OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO OBTAIN UNILATERAL SOLUTIONS ADVANTAGEOUS ONLY TO THEMSELVES IS THE REASON FOR THE LACK OF ANY PROGRESS IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS.

5. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS AND TRYING TO GIVE A NEW IMPULSE TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHICH ARE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS PUT FORWARD IN OCTOBER THIS YEAR A NEW PROPOSAL FOR AN INITIAL STEP OF REDUCTIONS IN 1975. THIS INITIATIVE ON THE PART OF OUR COUNTRIES, WHICH IS A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL, WAS WORKED OUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT A NUMBER OF ASPECTS OF THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES AND ITS AIM IS THE ATTAINMENT IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME OF A CONCRETE UNDERSTANDING ON THE CONDUCT OF PRACTICAL INITIAL REDUCTIONS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE ORIGINAL POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES.

6. UNFORTUNATELY, THE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE SO FAR NOT SHOWN READINESS TO SEEK ON THIS COMPROMISE BASIS A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION CONCERNING A REDUCTION WHICH WOULD BE EASIER TO IMPLEMENT FROM A PRACTICAL POINT OF VIEW. WITHOUT PUTTING FORWARD IN THIS CONTEXT ANY COUNTER-PROPOSAL

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WHICH WOULD BEAR WITNESS TO THEIR READINESS SERIOUSLY TO INVESTIGATE NEW WAYS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS, THEY ARE IN ESSENCE CONTINUING TO DEMAND THAT THE ONLY FOUNDATION FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE THE WESTERN PLAN PROPOSED AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

7. THE PERSISTENT UNWILLINGNESS OF THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS TO MAKE ANY STEP, EVEN AN INSIGNIFICANT ONE, BEYOND THE FRAMEWORK OF THEIR BASIC POSITION - EVEN WHEN THE SUGGESTED COMPROMISE DOES NOT AFFECT THE OVERALL CONCEPT OF THE SIDES - IS NOT THE ROAD WHICH COULD LEAD US TO GENUINELY MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS. AND WITHOUT SUCH SOLUTIONS AND WITHOUT THE DISPLAY OF GOODWILL ON BOTH SIDES IT IS HARD TO EXPECT MOVEMENT IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS.

8. THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, SHOWING THEIR CONCERN AT THE ABSENCE OF ANY PROGRESS IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS, CONSIDER THAT NEW EFFORTS AND NEW INITIATIVES CAPABLE OF CHANGING THE PRESENT SITUATION FOR THE BETTER AND HELPING THE NEGOTIATIONS TO BECOME MORE FRUITFUL ARE NOW ESSENTIAL.

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

9. GUIDED BY THESE CONSIDERATIONS AND IN AN EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN TRUST BETWEEN THE PARTICIPANT COUNTRIES, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO THE CONDUCT OF SERIOUS AND SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS, THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES - THE GDR, POLAND, THE USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA TODAY OFFICIALLY PRESENT FOR EXAMINATION A NEW PROPOSAL TO THE EFFECT THAT THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD ASSUME AN OBLIGATION NOT TO INCREASE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THEIR ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

10. THE CO-AUTHORS OF THIS INITIATIVE PROPOSE THAT SUCH AN OBLIGATION BE EXPRESSED IN THE FORM OF A JOINT DECLARATION BY ALL STATES WHICH ARE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY CONSEQUENTLY SUBMIT FOR YOUR EXAMINATION THE FOLLOWING DRAFT JOINT DECLARATION:

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11. THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM, CANADA, THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, THE GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG, THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS, THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WHICH ARE PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS ON SUCH A REDUCTION,

12. GUIDED BY THE DESIRE TO SUPPLEMENT POLITICAL DETENTE IN EUROPE WITH MEASURES OF MILITARY DETENTE AND THUS TO CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT,

13. DESIRING TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT AT THE NEGOTIATIONS OF SPECIFIC RESULTS AND TO REFRAIN FROM ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT HINDER THIS,

14. DECLARE THAT THEY HEREBY UNDERTAKE NOT TO INCREASE THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THEIR ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE FOR THE DURATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

15. THE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE DRAFT JOINT DECLARATION COULD ENTER INTO FORCE FROM THE MOMENT OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE DECLARATION OR FROM 1 JANUARY 1975.

MR CHAIRMAN,

16. WE CONSIDER THAT THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS OF OBLIGATIONS OF A GENERAL CHARACTER WHICH IS PROVIDED FOR IN THE PROPOSED DRAFT DECLARATION WOULD HAVE, ESPECIALLY AFTER A YEAR OF NEGOTIATIONS, AN IMPORTANT POSITIVE SIGNIFICANCE BOTH FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES AND FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF PROMOTING FURTHER DETENTE IN EUROPE. SUCH A DECLARATION WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE POLITICAL DETERMINATION OF THE PARTICIPANT STATES TO HALT THE FURTHER ARMS RACE IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND AT THE SAME TIME WOULD EXPRESS THEIR WILL TO ACTIVATE THEIR EFFORTS, DIRECTED AT THE ACHIEVEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONCRETE DECISIONS ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS.

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17. THE DECLARATION SPEAKS IN CLEAR LANGUAGE OF THE DESIRE OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO CREATE A MORE STABLE AND FAVOURABLE ATOMOSPHERE FOR THE SEARCH FOR SUCH SOLUTIONS, AND THEIR READINESS TO REFRAIN IN THIS CONNECTION FROM ANY ACTIONS WHICH COULD HINDER THIS SEARCH. SUCH A CLAUSE HAS JUSTIFIED ITSELF IN PRACTICE IN INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS ON DISARMAMENT, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF COMPLEX CHARACTER,- AS A USEFUL STEP HELPING TO CLEAR THE WAY TOWARD THE ADOPTION OF CONSTRUCTIVE DECISIONS.

18. AS IS KNOWN TO ALL, AN ANALOGOUS CLAUSE WAS CONTAINED, FOR EXAMPLE, IN RESOLUTION 2149, ADOPTED AT THE XXI SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UN IN 1966 (MOREOVER BY ALL THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTRIES HERE) FOR THE PERIOD OF THE WORKING OUT OF THE TREATY ON NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT UNDOUBTEDLY PLAYED A POSITIVE ROLE IN THE DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS THEN.

19. WITH REGARD TO THE OBLIGATION NOT TO INCREASE THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE COUNTRIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHICH ARE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, IT WOULD NOT IN ANY CASE DAMAGE THE SECURITY OF THE SIDES, NOR THEIR POSITIONS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD, AFTER THE ADOPTION OF THE DECLARATION, CONTINUE THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF REDUCTIONS, BUT IN MORE FAVOURABLE CIRCUMSTANCES RELIEVED OF POTENTIAL MUTUAL SUSPICIONS AND MISTRUST. THERE IS NO NEED TO STRESS THAT A DECLARATION OF SUCH A TYPE WOULD STIMULATE THE VERY COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WOULD HAVE CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE, HAVING IN MIND THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS AROUND THIS TABLE.

20. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PROPOSED UNDERSTANDING IS A RELATIVELY SIMPLE MATTER NOT REQUIRING A LONG TIME - GIVEN GOODWILL OF THE SIDES. IN THE COURSE OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS - BOTH IN BILATERAL AND IN MULTILATERAL DISCUSSION, WE HAVE OFTEN HEARD STATEMENTS TESTIFYING TO THE FACT THAT NOT ONE OF THE COUNTRIES AMONG THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WAS INTERESTED IN RAISING THE LEVEL OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THEIR TROOPS IN THE AREA OF PROPOSED REDUCTIONS OR INTENDED TO DO THIS. IF THIS IS REALLY SO, THEN WE SEE NO OBSTACLES PREVENTING ALL OF US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS FROM DECLARING THIS JOINTLY AND OFFICIALLY. THE FOUR

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SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, IN PROPOSING THE DRAFT DECLARATION, HOPE

THAT IT WILL BE RECEIVED POSITIVELY, SINCE ITS CO-AUTHORS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, TOOK INTO CONSIDERATION THE FACT THAT THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS ALSO HAVE ADVANCED THE IDEA OF A NON-INCREASE OF TROOPS BY THE DIRECT PARTICIPANT COUNTRIES IN THE PERIOD OF NEGOTIATIONS.

21. ONE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT THE DRAFT JOINT DECLARATION CONCERNS OBLIGATIONS OF A TEMPORARY CHARACTER, SINCE WE ARE PROCEEDING FROM THE FACT THAT THEY WILL BE REPLACED BY CONCRETE, BROADER OBLIGATIONS WORKED OUT IN THE COURSE OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WOULD BE CONTAINED IN A FUTURE AGREEMENT OR AGREEMENTS ON REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

2. THE PROPOSED JOINT DECLARATION, AS EVERYONE SEES, IS SIMPLE IN FORM AND, BESIDES THE POSITIVE GOAL WHICH IT, AS I HAVE INDICATED, PURSUES, CONTAINS NOTHING WHICH COULD IN ANY WAY

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ACTION ACDA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0721

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

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PRE-DETERMINE THE FURTHER COURSE, PATHS AND METHODS OF
WORKING OUT QUESTIONS ON REDUCTION. NO PRIOR CONDITIONS ARE
BEING ADVANCED FOR ITS ADOPTION, SINCE IT NATURALLY IS NOT
LIKED WITH EITHER OF THE PLANS OF REDUCTION, WHICH HAVE BEEN
ALREADY TABLED OR WHICH MAY APPEAR IN THE FUTURE; IT
DOES NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR THEM. THE DRAFT JOINT DECLARATION
IS THEREFORE IN ALL RESPECTS REALLY NEUTRAL AND CREATES
NO PRECEDENT FOR THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTION
OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS.

23. HAVING IN MIND PRECISELY THIS CHARACTER OF THE
INITIATIVE PROPOSED BY THEM, THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES
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WHICH ARE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD
LIKE ALSO TO STRESS THAT BOTH THEIR DRAFT AGREEMENT OF 8
NOVEMBER 1973 AND THE PROPOSAL ON AN INITIAL REDUCTION
IN 1975 NATURALLY REMAIN FULLY IN FORCE, AND THEY WILL
BE GUIDED BY THEM IN THE COURSE OF THE FURTHER
NEGOTIATIONS.

MR CHAIRMAN,

24. THE NEW PROPOSAL WHICH OUR DELEGATION HAS JUST OFFICIALLY
TABLED FOR CONSIDERATION IN THE NAME OF THE FOUR SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES WAS DICATED BY THE SINCERE DESIRE TO PROMOTE THE
SUCCESS OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS AND FACILITATE THE SEARCH FOR
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS OF THE QUESTION OF REDUCTION
OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

25. THE POSITIVE INFLUENCE OF SUCH A STEP, UNDERTAKEN
BY ALL THE DIRECT PARTICIPANT COUNTRIES, ON THE FURTHER
COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND ABOVE ALL ON THE IMPROVEMENT
OF THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE AND THE STRENGTHENING OF TRUST BETWEEN
THE SIDES WOULD BE INDISPUTABLE. WE ARE ALSO CONVINCED
THAT THE ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED JOINT DECLARATION
WOULD BE GREETED WITH SATISFACTION BY ALL THE PEOPLES OF
EUROPE AS EVIDENCE OF THE READINESS AND DETERMINATION OF
THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS TO ACHIEVE
THE SOLUTION OF THE TASK BEFORE THEM IN THE INTERESTS OF
HALTING THE ARMS RACE AND OF FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF
THE PROCESS OF DETENTE ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT.

MR CHAIRMAN,

26. WE HAVE DEVOTED OUR STATEMENT TODAY TO THE EXPLANATION

OF A NEW IMPORTANT INITIATIVE OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES
WITH THE PURPOSE OF MORE FULLY REVEALING ITS CONTENT AND
INDICATING ITS IMPORTANCE TO ALL PARTICIPANTS IN OUR
NEGOTIATIONS.

27. WE HOPE THAT OUR NEW PROPOSAL WILL BE CAREFULLY
STUDIED BY THE WESTERN COUNTRIES AND THAT IT WILL MEET
WITH UNDERSTANDING ON THEIR PART AND WITH THAT BENEVOLENT
ATTITUDE WHICH IT DESERVES.
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28. IF WE SUCCEED IN ADOPTING IT IN THE NEAR FUTURE
WE COULD CONTINUE OUR NEGOTIATIONS IN THE COMING YEAR
IN A MUCH BETTER ATMOSPHERE. END TEXT. RESOR

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